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as regards what he says of the attitude of the workingmen toward compulsory arbitration as a method of settling differences between themselves and their employers. This method, the author states, "is repugnant to employers, because in the substitution of the public authority for the free disposition of the means of production by their owners they see an element of confiscation; but for this very reason it constitutes one of the most cherished ideals of the labor party." (Page 464.) It is true, as the author points out (page 465), that many states have established permanent boards of arbitration, but the findings of these boards are binding only in those cases where both parties voluntarily appeal to them, and then for only a very short time after the settlement is made. As a matter of fact the boards are seldom appealed to by either party, for the reason that they prefer to settle their differences in their own way. The latest expression of opinion on the subject by those directly interested was given at the arbitration conference held in Chicago in December, 1900, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation. Not only were the labor representatives present not in favor of compulsory arbitration, but they were unanimously opposed to it. The method which the conservative labor organizations of the United States have long been advocating has been voluntary arbitration or conciliation through boards composed of representatives of workmen and employers in the industries concerned. The great movements which have been going on for years for the adjustment of wages and for the settlement of all matters between the workmen and their employers by collective action through their representatives, the author does not seem fully to appreciate.

With possibly this single criticism Professor Levasseur has given us by far the most comprehensive and thoroughly scientific treatment of the labor situation in the United States which has yet appeared. The work of the translator has been ably done, and, if we except a number of minor errors in spelling and punctuation and the failure to correct a misstatement of the author that a lecture by Mr. Carroll D. Wright before the students of Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn., was delivered at New Haven, the same may be said of the work of the editor.

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*The Rise of the Swiss Republic.* By W. D. McCrackan. Pp. 423.  
Price, \$2.00. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1901.

Mr. McCrackan has been studying Swiss political institutions very intelligently and attentively for many years. While he is not without

a good deal of bias as a historian he is always readable and generally accurate as to his facts. His "Rise of the Swiss Republic" has now reached its second edition in an enlarged and revised form, and it will be warmly welcomed by people who know Switzerland, whether as students or only as summer visitors to its valleys, lakes and peaks. The book is a complete historical account of the development of Switzerland from the time of the rather mythical lake dwellers up to the present date. The most lively interest will be awakened, however, by the chapters which are devoted to the modern confederation.

An event which marks the beginning of a new epoch in Switzerland is the war of the Sonderbund—in a sense comparable to our Civil War. As a result of this war came a revision of the Swiss constitutional system. In 1848 a new constitution of the Swiss Confederation was adopted by a majority of the cantons and a majority of the voters; and the central government, assuming more power to itself, became from that time forward of some real authority in the direction of affairs.

Mr. McCrackan is a warm advocate of those characteristically democratic institutions, the initiative and the referendum. The Federal Government and every canton except Fribourg have the referendum either in its compulsory or optional form. Since 1891 the Confederation has had the initiative and seventeen out of the twenty-two cantons have adopted it. Upon the application of thirty thousand voters in the Confederation a bill which has passed the legislature must be submitted to the popular vote, and 50,000 voters can originate a law. In rather unscientific enthusiasm Mr. McCrackan says of this system: "There is no movement in any other country at present which can be compared to this masterly and systematic reform on democratic lines. It is full of great possibilities. It has already fulfilled many of its earlier promises. It is rapidly converting the Swiss people into a nation governing itself upon an almost ideal plan—directly, logically and without intermediaries."

Our author believes that these reforms should be introduced into the United States. We should know by this time that they have been pretty thoroughly tested in this country. The representative system has been modified very materially—not only in respect of state constitutions, which have been referred to popular vote almost from the foundation of the government, but also as to state statutes and all kinds of local laws and ordinances. Furthermore, the people may originate various classes of local legislation. And we have attained this development quite independently of the Swiss experience. It is true that the Swiss example has recently led to the amendment of the

state constitutions so as to introduce the initiative and the referendum in the general Swiss form into the political practice of South Dakota and Utah, while the change is pending in Oregon and some other commonwealths. A few large cities, as San Francisco, have such provisions in their charters; and a political element, hitherto influential in the West, would like to see the principles extended. The author would have only one house of legislature, and it would be not more than a committee for submitting bills to popular vote. The people would be their own lawmakers to check the evil acts and corrupt designs of their representatives.

While the abuses which are to be remedied are very gross there are some points which authors like Mr. McCrackan overlook. They study the Swiss experience and take too little account of our own. They allege that when the Swiss constitution was adopted its framers patterned it after the American constitution—introducing modifications, however, to suit local conditions. It is this that we need to do when we transplant the referendum. We need to consider American conditions more carefully. We have the referendum, and how has it operated?

The opponents of the referendum, says Mr. McCrackan, assume that the people are an "unreasoning beast." They do not have to assume anything of the kind, nor do they believe this. They look only at the facts. If they are to make their own laws the people should manifest a deep interest and active zeal in measures which are submitted to them. Instead of this the records in this country, covering many states for many years, show that only about half as many men will go to the polls to vote for measures as vote for members of the legislature, governors, congressmen, etc. No matter what the tendency may be in small, compact states like Switzerland, Americans cannot be persuaded to come out in large numbers to vote either for or against laws. While it is often argued that those who do not vote should be governed by those who will and who do, such a lack of zeal is nevertheless very deplorable, because it enables the politicians in control of the electoral machinery to effect their own ends. No great change in our political conditions may be expected from a system which reduces rather than increases the sense of popular interest and responsibility.

The present evils are due to the fact that the people are not able to choose their representatives wisely. Would they manifest greater wisdom in the choice of laws? These are important questions of government which vitally concern the American people, and require their careful consideration when it is proposed to overturn the present constitutional system. Mr. McCrackan's history is interest-

ing but it is marred by prejudices in which the historian should never indulge.

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*Philadelphia.*

*Railway Mail Service: A Comparative Study of Railway Rates and Service.* By GEORGE G. TUNELL. Pp. 214. Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1901.

This book consists of a series of articles arising from the controversy over the remuneration of railways for the carriage of mail matter. Although "nominally disconnected," the articles all bear upon the subject of the mail service of the railways and the rate of payment therefor. The first and principal article consists of a statement submitted to the Joint Congressional Committee on Postal Affairs (created by Act of Congress, approved June 13, 1898), and is apparently a brief for the railways in general, and in particular for the Chicago and Northwestern Railway.

The articles forming the book are apparently the result of careful and painstaking study (in many cases of material inaccessible to most students) and disclose a thorough knowledge of the subject. Mr. Tunell traces the genesis and evolution of the present method of remunerating railroads from the Act of 1873 and attempts to show cause why a demand for a reduction in the rate of compensation is unreasonable and unwarranted. The author lays emphasis upon the demands made by the postal department upon the railroads and the excellent service required, and finds a justification for the present high rates in the excellent character of this service. He moreover shows that the mail transportation rates have actually declined despite the improvement in the service, and that even since 1879, when the rates were legally reduced for the last time, the railroad receipts per ton mile of mail matter transported have fallen off almost forty per cent. He presents in detail the factors making for high cost in mail transportation and points out the fact that, in consequence of mail matter being weighed only once in four years and the remuneration being based upon the weight of the mails at the time last preceding, as well as for other reasons, the railroads do not, as a matter of fact, receive payment for the whole weight carried.

The book is largely controversial. It contains a mass of statistical data bearing upon the subject of rates and costs.

WALTER E. WEYL.

*Up From Slavery.* By BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. Pp. ix, 330. Price, \$1.50. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901.

Mr Washington's latest book is principally autobiographical, and will doubtless arouse the same interest it excited when appearing in